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on William Pitt



A  
VINDICATION  
OF THE  
CONDUCT

Of the Late  
Great C-----r.

Addressed to every Impartial ENGLISHMAN.

Be to HIS Faults a little Blind :  
Be to HIS Virtues very Kind.  
Vide a late Speech.

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L O N D O N :  
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17.85

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A  
VINDICATION  
OF THE  
CONDUCT

Of the Late

Great C-----r.

EVERY Englishman, who has the least acquaintance with the history of his own country for the last ten years, cannot deny his suffrage to the patriotism and abilities of the Great C——r, during that period. When we reflect upon the dejected state

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of



of the nation, at the time of the coalition of parties in 1757, after the loss of Minorca, the poltroonery of Byng, and the defeat of Braddock in America ; it is with astonishment we see the reputation of the nation almost instantaneously recovered, and its glory expanding itself to every corner of the globe in two campaigns, so as to render the year 1759 the most memorable of any in the British annals.

These facts are so recent, that it would be unnecessary to dwell upon them, or, indeed, to mention them, if they did not at the same time clearly point out the source of our successes ; which, from the moment Mr. P — resumed his share in the ad——n, flowed in one continued though rapid stream : nay, such was the force of the current, that it could not even be stopped after he retired from power, but



but still bore down the opposition and united efforts of our enemies in the West Indies and North America as well as in Europe.

Such, then, may we consider the immediate benefits that have been derived to this nation from the superior abilities of Mr. P--., whose conduct has been strictly uniform, from the time he first appeared in the H----- of C-----s, till this very hour, when, being no longer able to attend, in the manner that would be agreeable to him, the fatigue and business of that H-----e, he has at length condescended to accept of a P-----ge.

The subject of these sheets is to point out this uniformity of conduct, and to shew that his motives for quitting the lower H----- for a seat in the upper, are neither mercenary nor am-



bitious, but fully consistent with that patriotism which he always has, and ever will profess.

It has often been urged against him, by the little scribblers of the day, who are glad to eat at any man's expence, that his first setting out in life was a strong proof of at least his want of consistency; for that, after receiving the duchess of Marlborough's legacy of ten thousand pounds, upon the condition of never accepting of any place under the government, he no sooner became possessed of this handsome bequest, than he lifted himself under the min-----l banner, and never opposed any object they had in view, but rode with the Pelham-bit for many years.

These short-sighted antagonists run away with the letter, and lose the spirit of the argument. It is true, that  
her



her grace bequeathed this legacy to the Great C-----r upon condition that he should not accept of any place under the government; but then her meaning was, certainly, *unless he could be of service to his country*; and that he has been of great service to his country, has already been made very evident; so that this pretended objection to his conduct serves only to illustrate it.

His conduct in the beginning of the last German war, when he opposed the sending a single man or a single guinea to Germany, comparing it to a mill-stone round Britannia's neck; and his afterwards changing his opinion in this respect, and so bountifully assisting the king of Prussia; is another subject for those snarlers to comment upon. And whilst they attempt humorously to account for this recantation, by attributing it to a defect in the



the Great C-----r's optics, who mistook a *cork-jacket* for a *mill-stone*, they prove their heads to be still more ponderous and impenetrable than the latter, or their judgments lighter than the former, swimming only upon the surface of all reasoning, argument, and ratiocination.

Could they not conceive, that a change of circumstances may at any time give a sanction to a change of measures? Though it was certainly prudent in us to avoid entering into any German connexions, so long as the ballance of power and the protestant cause were in no danger of being subverted, as the Germans might, if they chose it, cut their own throats at their own expence; yet, when the king of Prussia (the bulwark of protestantism in the empire) was not only attacked, but a conspiracy entered into against him by  
the



the great powers of Germany and the North, there could be no farther debate concerning the part we were to act; and we could not too chearfully or too bountifully supply him, considering he has ever been, and ever will be, our constant friend and ally, as well as that of religion.

Many more arguments, if these were not sufficient, might be adduced, to prove the rectitude of his conduct upon this occasion; to which might be subjoined the example of all his predecessors from the time of the Revolution, who certainly could not, every one, be mistaken in their political maxims, or pursue a phantom, and grasp a shadow, for almost a whole century: No; the *ballance of power* cannot be a mere chimera, or else there is a political *ignis fatuus*, that has never yet been accounted for, and has constantly mis-



guided all our ministers during this period.

The motives for his giving up the seals in 1761, were at that time, and still are, so well known, that it were almost needless to recapitulate them ; however, as some attempts have been made to misrepresent them, it will be necessary to state them here, as they appeared to every impartial man. The *Family Compact* had been just concluded between the two branches of the house of Bourbon upon the French and Spanish thrones. The pernicious tendency of this alliance to Great Britain was then a profound secret to every man in England but the Great C-----r : he had obtained a copy of it, by a method that has been since made public, and he therefore strenuously urged the necessity of vigorous operations against the Spaniards, and  
the



the attacking their register-ships and galleons, upon their return to Europe, previous to a declaration of war; as they would thereby be incapacitated, for want of sailors and specie, to pursue it afterwards, or assist their secret allies the French. The counsellors who opposed this measure, were then unacquainted with the motives for the Great C-----r's resolution or advice; and all the satisfaction they could obtain from him upon this head, was, *that he had then in his pocket, what would afterwards vindicate the measure, and prove his judgment and counsel to be well founded.* This *ipse dixit* was considered as too vague an assertion, and the measure was not pursued; in consequence of which he threw up his employments, and retired. The k---g, however, thought proper to requite his past services with a pension of three thousand pounds

C                      a year,



a year, and bestow a peerage upon his lady and son.

The political critics of that time failed not to avail themselves of this retreat from office, to prove the overbearingness, the obstinacy, and presumption of the Great C-----r; they represented his acceptance of a pension as inconsistent with all his former pretensions, and as derogatory to the patriotic character he had hitherto supported, though at the same time they were compelled to applaud his virtue, in refusing a peerage, which was then offered to him.

These shallow politicians were then ignorant of the foundation of that advice which he gave, and the presumption which they attributed to him was therefore destroyed. We were  
all



all indeed ignorant that he *could* have communicated any thing of consequence upon this head, and were therefore the more surprized that he should not have instructed the other members of the council, since in that case they must certainly have been convinced of the rectitude of the measure; but he had doubtless his private reasons for his conduct, which will one time or other be made public, and the world will then be convinced of the propriety of his behaviour upon the occasion.

As to his accepting of the pension, these who upbraid him with this condescension, are only envious that they do not participate the enjoyment of it with him; for indeed it was a compliment that could not well be refused from the hand that made it; and we have had but one instance of its be-



ing rejected within our memory. But if the D--- of N----- was so imprudent as to refuse it, we well know that the glory he would derive to himself therefrom is greatly diminished, by the little value he in general sets upon money.

But the self denial which Mr. P. so powerfully evinced in refusing a peerage at that time, must wipe away every the smallest slur that could be thrown upon him, for any other part of his conduct, supposing it even to be well grounded. Convinced that he might still be of service to his country in the H---e of C-----s, the coronet had no charms for him; and in opposition to the conduct of Mr. P---lt---y, he gloriously withstood the temptation, and retired from power still a simple citizen.

*Cincinnatus*



*Cincinnatus* like, he practised those virtues in private which he enforced in public, and as a first and necessary step towards domestic œconomy, he retrenched all superfluous expences, of which the world had a striking proof, in the public sale of two of his coach-horses. A man who is thus superior to luxury, and as he himself expresses it *can live upon an egg*, must be above all mercenary temptation, all pecuniary influence.

His late conduct in the H—e of C-----s, with respect to the American Stamp Act has been by some construed into ostentatious popularity, as they pretend, that he might have enforced the same arguments against the passing of the bill, as he did in favour of the repeal of the act, and by that means have prevented the many bick-



erings, tumults in America, and ill-  
 blood at home, that was occasioned  
 thereby. But has he not since told  
 us, that " when the resolution was  
 " taken in the H---e to tax America,  
 " he was ill in bed; and if he could  
 " have endured to have been carried  
 " in his bed, so great was the agita-  
 " tion of his mind for the conse-  
 " quences; he would have solicited  
 " some kind hand to have laid him  
 " down on that floor, to have borne  
 " his testimony against it?"

After this can any impartial man  
 suppose that his illness was imagina-  
 ry, or that he then remained silent to  
 have a future opportunity of display-  
 ing his patriotism to greater advan-  
 tage, or reaping the full harvest of  
 his popularity, as well here as through-  
 out all America, where he is univer-  
 sally



fally venerated, adulated, and will (as soon as his statues are finished) be adored?

The gratitude of the Americans for this maternal condescension, in the repeal of the Stamp Act, may be collected from the late speeches of the governors of the provinces.

Mr. Bernard governor of the province of Massachusets bay, in New England, in his speech of the 29th of May last, expresses himself in these words:

“ It were to be wished that a veil  
“ could be drawn over the late dif-  
“ graceful scenes. But that cannot be  
“ done 'till a better temper and under-  
“ standing shall prevail in general than  
“ seems to be at present, if we can  
“ judge from some proceedings, which  
“ I fear,



“ I fear, when known at home, will  
 “ afford matter of triumph to those  
 “ who were for maintaining the Stamp  
 “ Act, and sorrow and concern to those  
 “ who procured its repeal. But the  
 “ inflammation of this country is a  
 “ grand object with some persons;  
 “ and neither the indulgence of par-  
 “ liament, nor the moderation of  
 “ government, nor the exigency of  
 “ the times, have as yet been able to  
 “ put a stop to that pursuit. Every  
 “ one who hears me can more or less  
 “ give testimony of the mildness and  
 “ moderation of my administration;  
 “ how much I have endeavoured to re-  
 “ move and prevent distinctions of men  
 “ and divisions of parties; and how  
 “ little I have interposed my judgment  
 “ against the sense of the councils over  
 “ which I have presided. But when  
 “ the government is attacked in form;  
 “ when there is a profest intention to  
 “ deprive



“ deprive it of its best and most able  
“ servants, whose only crime is their  
“ fidelity to the crown; I cannot be  
“ indifferent, but find myself obliged  
“ to exercise every legal and constitu-  
“ tional power to maintain the king’s  
“ authority against this ill judged and  
“ ill timed oppugnation of it!”

It should not however be inferred  
from hence, as some rash politicians  
have done, that the more you grant  
the Americans, the more they will re-  
quire, and that every concession on our  
parts is but sowing the seeds of fresh  
complaints on theirs. It is true that  
Mr. G---lle, in his speech, seems to  
be much of this opinion, where he  
says, “ Ungrateful people of Ame-  
“ rica! Bounties have been extended  
“ to them. While I had the honour  
“ to serve the crown, while you your-  
“ selves were loaded with an enormous  
D “ debt,



“ debt, you have given bounties on  
 “ their lumber, on their iron, their  
 “ hemp, and many other articles. You  
 “ have relaxed in their favour the  
 “ act of Navigation, that palladium of  
 “ the British commerce; and yet I  
 “ have been abused in all the public  
 “ papers as an enemy to the trade of  
 “ America.”

We shall dwell no longer upon Mr.  
 P---’s conduct with respect to the Ame-  
 rican Stamp Act, as it has received such  
 universal applause, and can, therefore,  
 require no apology; but shall now con-  
 sider, as the most immediate object of  
 these sheets, how far the sarcasms  
 thrown out, and attacks made upon  
 him, with respect to his refusing a  
 share in the adm-----n, and his ac-  
 ceptance of a peerage, are well ground-  
 ed.

It



It is insinuated that the favourite has artfully caught him in the same trap by which Mr. Pulteney, afterwards Lord Bath, was ensnared in the year 1741, when Sir Robert W-----le discovered that every man had his peculiar vanity, to gratify which he would sacrifice every thing; nay, even the good of his country:—that this vanity in some was to be gratified by a ribbon, in others by a place, in others by a pension, in others by a title:—and that there were some few so unreasonable in their demands, that they would require them all—and yet (if expedient) this unreasonableness was to be satisfied.

We well know indeed that Mr. Pulteney lost all his popularity, all his influence as soon as he accepted of that peerage; and that he afterwards blamed his wife for his conduct, who would never let him rest till she was created a la-



dy. But this could never be the case with Mr. P——, whose wife's ambition upon this score, if she possessed any such, was already satisfied; and she was even certain, that her eldest son and his heirs would also be peers; so that this condescension of Mr. P—— cannot be attributed to any curtain lecture. Nor is it reasonable to be supposed, that he ever could be deluded by the favourite, since he has given his opinion in public with respect to him so clearly:

“ When I ceased, (says he) to serve  
 “ his M—— as a M——, it was not the  
 “ *country* of the man by which I was  
 “ moved — but the *man* of that *country*  
 “ wanted *wisdom*, and held principles  
 “ incompatible with *freedom*.”

It is impossible, after such a declaration, that Mr. P—— can ever submit to engage in the same adm——n with Lord B——; and we willingly believe  
 that



that Lord ——— retains the same sentiments as a Peer, that he did when a Commoner, or the infatuation of a coronet must be very strange, if it can ever induce him to believe the same person he has thus represented, to be properly qualified to have a share, directly or indirectly, in that adm——n, of which the Patriotic C——r is supposed to have the guidance. And yet the instance we have just mentioned of Lord Bath clearly proves, that coronets may so ill fit some heads, as to cover their eyes so effectually, and so completely hood-wink them, that they cannot discover black from white.

But why should this disagreeable comparison be drawn between these two famous orators, merely because they accepted Somersetshire Titles? Let us rather believe, that the great C——r has acted upon very different principles from



from Mr. P——y, and that he will still persevere in opposing all Scottish M——rs, Scottish measures, and Scottish Favourites; and that he will be as great an ornament to the nation in the H——e of P——s as he was in that of the C——s.

We should first consider the exigency of the times, and the necessity there was for an able and upright Ad——n, to give our deliberations at home, and our negotiations abroad, such weight and influence as they ever had under a Cromwell and a -----: that the Great C-----r had been long solicited to accept of the lead in the ad——n, and that he had hitherto refused it from motives of the most upright integrity; *he could not give them his confidence, as it is a plant of a slow growth in an aged bosom, and youth is the season of credulity.*--- This confidence, however, being



ing quickly arrived at maturity, notwithstanding youth still remains \*, the season of credulity, he has, on account of his infirmities, which disable him from attending the business of the H—e of C——s, accepted of an easy *sinecure*, that produces only three thousand pounds a year. But let it not be imagined he intends to appropriate this salary to his own private use; for we have been previously told in print, that if ever he should accept of any post under the g——t, he would give up all pecuniary emoluments for the benefit of the state.

Next consider his indisposition, by which he was prevented attending the H—e at the time the Stamp Act was debating. The gout is well known

\* The D. of G. was the youngest man of any who composed the then ministry.



to be a very troublesome disorder; and, considering the many conferences he was obliged to assist at in town, the badness of the roads, the distance of his country-seat, the disagreeableness of often troubling a friend: in a word, considering his natural disposition for tranquility, his aversion to the turbulence of party, and his antipathy to par————y debate; it may fairly and reasonably be concluded, that he accepted of a peerage merely for quietness sake, and to avoid farther importunity.

It might be objected to this, that he had never lost sight of his m——l influence, if we are to judge by the negociations which have constantly taken place upon a m——l change, at which he has never failed to assist; and that he would not otherwise have been so careful, in the conveyance of  
H---yes



H—yes to Mr. W—le, as to make it an exprefs condition, that the bargain fhould be null and void, in cafe he held any poft under the g—t during one year.

But fhould we not confider this, on the one hand, as the higheft degree of condefcenfion ; and on the other, as a piece of foresight worthy of fo great a ftatefman ? Virtues are vices, feen through different optics ; and what would have recommended him to the favour of every Englifhman five years ago, is now attributed to him as his greateft crime.

Is not this as critical a period as when his fervice was fo much required, and when the lofs of it was fo much lamented ? Has the court of Spain paid the Manilla ranfom ? Has

E                      that



that of France entirely demolished Dunkirk? Have not the French made infractions upon the coast of Africa? Are they not fitting out squadrons at Toulon and Brest? A war we must and shall have, and who so proper to conduct it as the Great C——r, I mean lord ————?

But supposing these insults could be passed over, have we not occasion for an able statesman to regulate our domestic affairs? Is there not another South Sea bubble in embryo? Shall bulls and bears gull half the nation, and the g——t remain quiet spectators? It is well known, that the whole stock of the E—— I—— C——— has been bought and sold twice in a day within this fortnight — and who are to be the sufferers? Many there must be, no doubt, and a very



very short time will convince the dupes of their folly.

I shall say nothing of the claims of the k—— of P——, with respect to a share of our conquests in America, as, were we immediately to yield them, agreeable to his desire, it would be difficult for him to take possession; and still more so to keep them with his *small* fleet.

Such then is the present critical state of affairs, which rendered it necessary to displace the greater part of the late m——ry, to make way for Mr. P—, and such assistants as he should chuse to call in, to fill the vacant posts of g——t: all staunch men and trusty, from the C———r of the Ex———r to the L—— P—— S—— of Scotland.

E 2

And



And now I have mentioned the L—  
P—— S—— of Scotland, I cannot avoid  
making a remark in this place, upon  
a common error that many persons  
have adopted, which was, that it became  
necessary for Mr. P— to be created a  
peer, in order to hold that office in  
England. It might be said, with equal  
propriety, that the Lords of the Admi-  
ralty, the Treasury, or the Trade and  
Plantations, must all be peers, though  
it is certain that the majority of these  
Lords Commissioners are at this very  
period Commoners; but Mr. S——  
M———enjoying that post in Scotland,  
puts it out of all doubt.

But had this really been the case, it  
would naturally occur to every observer,  
where was the necessity of the Great  
C——r's accepting this post, since it must  
be



be at the price of his popularity? He might have been equally serviceable to his K - - - and country, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, which post Mr. Pelham kept till his death, though he was always considered as the leading minister. I have therefore attributed his acceptance of a peerage to its just and real cause, --- *quietness sake, and to avoid farther importunity.*

I shall now take leave of the reader, having, I doubt not, fully cleared the late Great C——r from every injurious imputation thrown upon his conduct, which I have proved to have been every way and invariably consistent with the character he always has supported, of a true Patriot and a great Statesman; and that he may persevere in the same noble plan, to the end of his days, for the glory of his reputation, and the  
good



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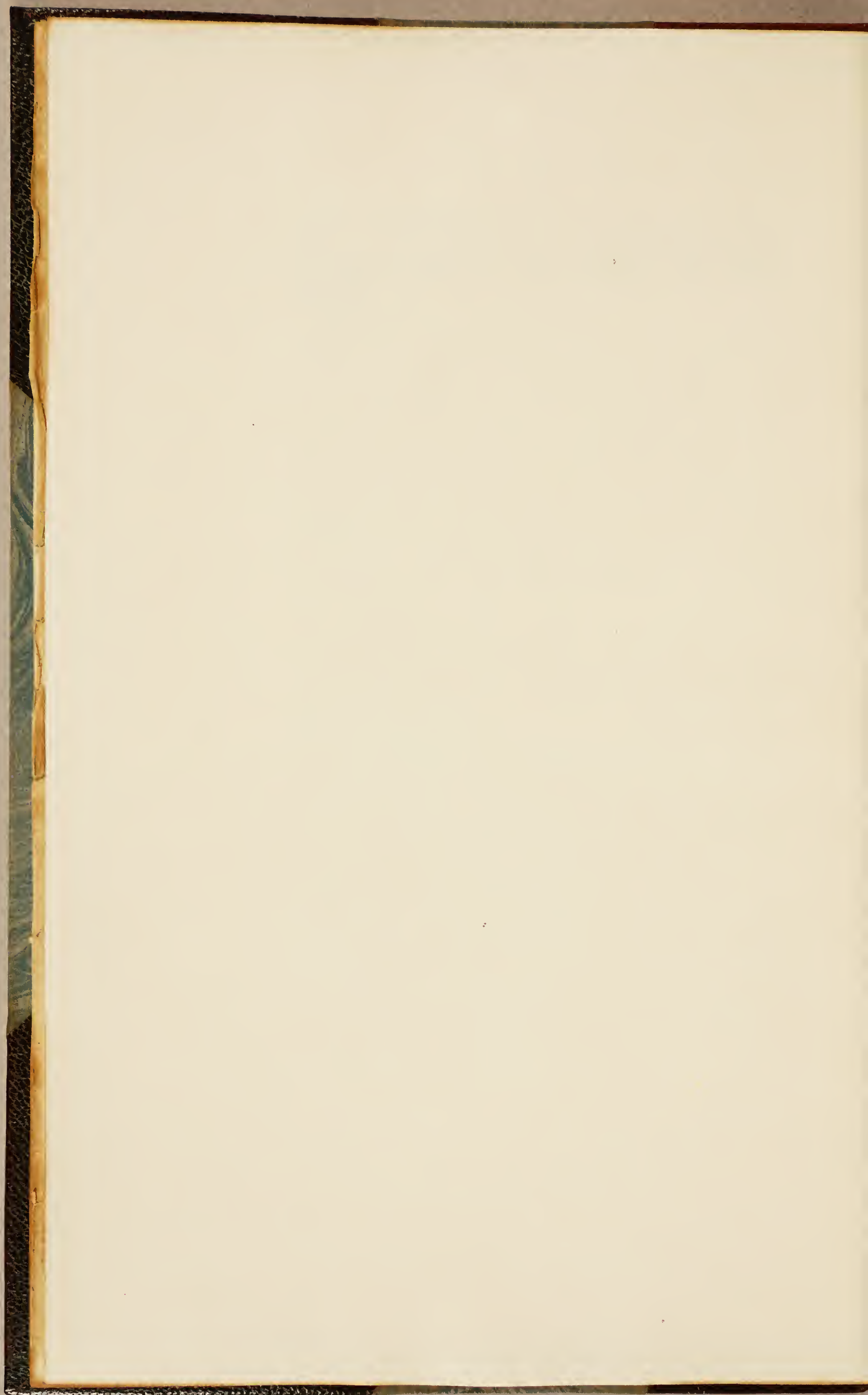
good and honour of his country, is the  
sincere wish of the writer of these  
sheets.

F I N I S.





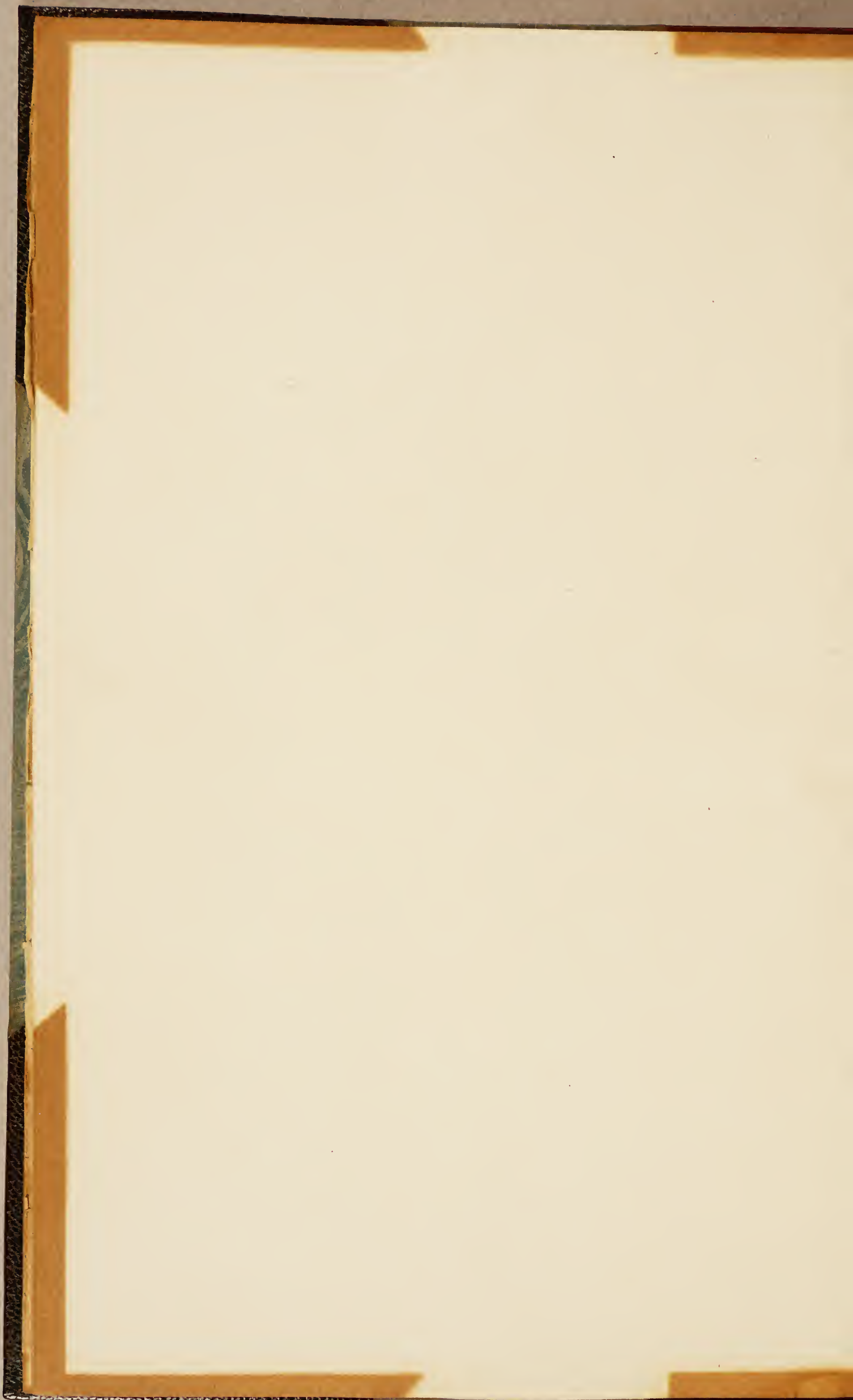














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